[Great Horde]

000 Balkhash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan as well.
161 Its territory was the greatest of the hordes, but its population was the smallest of all the hordes during the 19th century.[63] Their total number is estimated at about 110,000 families, or about 440,000 individuals in the past third of the 19th century.[64]

616 In the structure of the Great Horde there are traces
619 of a dual organization, the division of the horde into an eastern wing and a western. The eastern wing was in turn divided into two subdivisions, which were together comprised of seven clans. The western wing was further subdivided directly into ten clans.[65] It would be difficult to justify the term moiety in connection with the two wings, and the more neutral theoretical concept of dual organization, only traces of which are detectable, will be used. In his analysis of the moiety, Lowie attributes the functioning of the principle of exogamy to this unit.[66] However, a more important reason for the choice of the neutral term dual organization is the lack of distinctive functions of the two great divisions. Dichotomies within the steppe society occur sporadically,

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[63] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 235.

[64] Aristov, Opyt vyiasneniia, 398-400.

[65] Radloff, op. cit., I, 235.

[66] Lowie, Primitive Society, 118.

[Great Horde]

616 and reflect a mode of organization in the imperial past
619 of these peoples. But the principle of dual organization has a kinship referent in the sense that members of one wing regard themselves as more closely related to each other than to the other wing only insofar as the entire society is united by a common mythical genealogy, and hence by a common kinship bone.

An identical situation is found among the Kara-Kirgiz, who are divided into two: the On (right) division, and the Sol (left) division. These two groupings are not equally numerous; the On or right is much greater than the Sol or left. They are variously organized internally; the On is further subdivided into six groupings, the Sol into seven.[67]

619 In the Great Horde we note that only one of the
631 two great divisions is in its turn dually organized.
171 The indigenous term for the Great Horde is the Ulu yüs or Great Hundred.[68] The concept of hundred in the Altaic steppe society relates to politico-military organization. The armies of Chingis Khan were commanded by decurions, centurions, chiliarchs, and the Kalmuks through the 19th century had a series of sub-divisions imposed by the central Khanate into tens, forties, and

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[67] Radloff, op. cit., I, 230-231.

[68] Ibid., 235.

[Middle Horde]

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[1/4] Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no trace of any dual organization in its major divisions. Instead, it was divided directly into six clan federations: the Argyn, the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman, the Kirei, and the Uwak.[167] That these federations bore distinctive names is of interest, that these names are archaic is even more so. Four of these names have a great historical tradition, occurring both in the ancient Turkic records and in the Secret History of the Mongols; these are: the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman and the Kirei or Kereit. Another tie with the Mongol steppe, the historical scene of both Orkhon texts and the Secret History, is in the name Argyn; there is an Argun River in northwestern Manchuria, forming the border with Siberia.

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[1/7] The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the 1820's had not yet come under Russian cultural influence to any significant extent. Yet even at this time, the practice of polygyny was restricted to the wealthy families: a rich Kazakh might have from three to five wives, while a poor Kazakh had but one. Infant betrothal was practiced, while marriage took place at age twenty at the latest. On marriage the father outfitted the son with one or more tents, livestock, clothing, felts, according to his means; for then the son became of age. But the relationship was a

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[167] Valikhanov, 162; Aristov, Zametki, 350. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 326, mentions only five of these federations, omitting the Uwak.

101 the Great Horde; and it was further along in the process
177 of acculturation than the Great Horde. A Middle Horde Kazakh could adopt a "Russian" point of view and have the public opinion of his community support him in it a full generation anterior to even a remote envisagement of such a situation in the Great Horde. However, no significant difference in small-scale social structure, whether in the corporate entities or in the kinship relationships, can be detected.

000 Note: Appended to this chapter is material gathered on the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde during the period of the First World War and the 1920's. It is separated from the body of the Kazakh materials since it represents an era removed from the preceding one by a war and a revolution.

The Little Horde: Clan and Lineage

101 The Little Horde, Kazakh kǐy yüz, literally Little Hundred, occupied the steppe between the Middle Horde and European Russia, stretching from the area north of the Aral Sea to the Ural River. The steppe between the Ural River and the Volga was in turn occupied by an offsheet of the Little Horde, the Buksi, or Inner Horde during the 19th century. In the structure of the Little
631 616 Horde, certain marks of a dual organization are to be
64 observed: it consisted of two major divisions, the Alchyn and the Djätti-uri. The Djätti-uri in turn were sub-

[Little Horde]

631 divided into seven clans. The foregoing is the version
616 given by Radlov.[172] Aristov, on the other hand, reports
619 simply the existence of ten clans in the Little Horde, and mentions no more inclusive groupings than these. One of his groups is named the Alchin, however.[173] Radlov further indicates that according to his data, the Alchyn were further subdivided into two sub-divisions, the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, the Alim-uli again into six sub-units, and the Bai-uli into ten. A part of the Bai-uli broke away from the Little Horde, moved across the Ural River through an agreement between their leader Bukei and the Russians, and occupied the steppe between the Ural and the Volga which had formerly been the pasture land of the Kalmuks.[174]

611 The elucidation of the functions of these greater
619 divisions of Kazakh society,[1] the horde and its principal segments, are mentioned briefly in this context merely to indicate that the web which tied them together was a common patrilineal descent, traced back to immemorial time by oral tradition to a mythical ancestor. Eventually all Kazakhs are agnatically related in this manner.

161 The combined Little and Inner Hordes numbered about 190,000 families according to various estimates between

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[172] Radloff, op. cit., 237-241.

[173] Aristov, op. cit., 350.

[174] Radloff, op. cit., 237.

1 [Cf. cat. 619, p. 462 — Analyst]

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

613 582 tained a full oral tradition of the origins and history of the group, and consciousness of membership. The entire group, the descendants of Adai, formed a major or maximal patrilineage, and was further subdivided into two exogamic [101] minimal or sub-lineages. These Kazakhs of the Little Horde occupied a peninsula of the eastern shore of the Caspian, and were somewhat isolated from the rest of the Kazakh world by stretches of true desert lying immediately to the east and south; the very isolation tended to stabilize the internal group relations over time, making for the exogamic practices founded on the maximal lineage and minimal lineage structures here described. We [616] may note in passing that something approaching a moiety situation is implied by the report,[1] but we do not know whether the entire Adai line was endogamous, taking wives from among themselves alone.

613 The lineage exogamy which has been posited theoretically may be applied to the minimal or sub-lineage equally. The division of clans into major maximal lineages, and these further into minimal or sub-lineages is dependent on locally operative conditions. The Inner or Bukei Horde composed still further variations on this theme.

The lineage founded by Adai exemplifies another structural principle of steppe society, that of formation by fission, by splitting away. Adai, the lineage ancestor, had once been a member of another lineage; but

1 [cf. cat. 116, ANI Mongolia, pp. 466-467 -- Analyst]